1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the taxes raised in the district and they meet primarily to discuss the dispensation of these funds. Usually this has to do with items of local improvement such as market stalls in various villages in the district, radios for hamlets and villages, etc. They also draft resolutions asking the emirate government for help in extending roads, building wells, and so on.

The official representative from the capital—previously from the colonial government, now the local government department of the emirate—who attends the meetings provides a link between this group and the central government in Maiduguri. He advises them on what is and what is not feasible in terms of their requests to the central government and also informs them of long-range development policies and plans by the central emirate government.

So far these councils are quite weak. They meet only a few times a year and have a very limited function. However as time goes on they could assume the role of a local legislative and administrative body made up of people who represent the developing needs of ordinary people to participate in decisions affecting their own local areas.

During the last decade or so another form of political activity has come to Bornu in the form of political parties. The traditional authorities, the district heads, lawans, judges, officials of the Native Authority, and all their followers, support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other parts of Northern Nigeria and forms the dominant element in the federal government of Nigeria. Several days a week in various parts of Maiduguri, but only rarely in rural areas, public meetings are held under the green flag of the N.P.C. Meetings are usually preceded by drumming and traditional dancing by divorced women. Then party organizers make speeches to the assembled crowds. Sometimes the "big men" such as the district heads or Native Authority Councilors attend these meetings especially around election time, but they themselves and candidates for office do not speak. To do so is considered demeaning for the "big men." Instead party organizers give long, loud harangues extolling the virtues of the N.P.C. and go into great detail about the evils propagated by other political parties in Nigeria.

The overall effect of these political meetings is one of tradition versus its breakdown, good versus evil, ethnic and religious unity and loyalty versus disunity and disloyalty. The real, everyday authority in the lives of the people obviously supports the N.P.C. Thus a vote against this party means much more than a simple political decision to support one contending group of leaders against another; it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference that moral order that holds it together. Listeners at the meetings are constantly presented with moral choices; "are you against our own chiefs, the district heads, lawans, our Shehu?—well *they*, the opposition parties, are; are you against wives being obedient to their husbands?—well *they* are; are you against children being obedient to their parents?—well *they* are," and so on. Stories are told of people whose parents were fine and upstanding citizens who supported and were supported by their leaders. Then their children ran away and supported opposition parties having first rejected the authority, love, affection and support of their own parents. Such people are now vagrants with no families, no proper connections to a respectable Kanuri household, no place in society, and no proper place in the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the Southern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true religion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The British colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Authority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder, riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them correct, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C. and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian parties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emirate.

The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern region was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this region between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times. As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals. Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tradition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

692 779 Maliki law, a particular school of Islamic law which became established in this part of the Western Sudan. Kanuri judges, trained in the Kano Law School, administer the law as alkalis. But all court records were open to the District Officer (who, incidentally, had Magisterial powers), and though he could not legally overrule an alkali's decisions, the District Officer could be instrumental in having an alkali replaced.

625 648 Still more important, the Native Authority of Bornu Emirate maintains a police force with semi-autonomous functions, which was controlled by a British Assistant Superintendent of Police. He was under the real control of the British Provincial administration, and was able to investigate with a free hand. The actions of the police force served to keep down crime and therefore to protect the citizenry. But the police force served the additional function of indicating to the Kanuri Native Authority that the force behind the legal system was under the control of an outside agency.

665 178 Lastly, with reference to changes in the total political system which effect Kanuri culture, recent years have brought about the development of regional political parties. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), the party in power in the House of Assembly of the Northern Region, has been strongly identified with the traditional ruling powers, the Emirs of the North, and is so viewed by the bulk of the population. Opposition parties have grown in importance, particularly in the urban areas where they receive their main support. The Bornu Youth

665 178 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Maiduguri where it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

2. Education.

871 177 [872] Accompanying British rule, a general education system has been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age 871 829 population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to [792] school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams. [554] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigeful and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

871 Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

[GEIDAM]

634 Northern House of Assembly. An elected office created by the
177 British which is an important new source of power has been
178 successfully captured by a member of the old aristocracy which
565 previously held all political power. Other new offices cre-
[648] ated by the colonial administration are to be found in the
634 District and Town Councils. Thus far, the District and Town
632 Councils in Geidam are dominated by the Ajia. But the member-
177 ship of the Town Council in particular is largely composed of
178 wealthy traders and a few craftsmen, who are all talaka. These
565 talaka do not yet have real political power but they have more
665 symbolic power than talaka have ever had before, and their po-
648 sitions may in time give them real power. The same is also
true for the officers of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC)
in Geidam, who are also talaka and controlled by the Ajia, but
who may in time emerge with real power through their positions
within the dominant political party in Bornu and in Northern
Nigeria. As yet, rival political parties in the North, the
Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU) and the Bornu Youth
Movement (BYM), have been effective only in large cities like
Maiduguri. They have made little impression in Geidam.

439 Perhaps the greatest changes in community structure have
177 been those brought about by influences of the Industrial West
433 on trade, particularly on external trade. Though trade has
always been important in Kanuri culture and middlemen in trade
have always existed as specialists in Kanuri cities, it is
probable that a larger proportion of the total economy is de-

634 By the judicious giving of gifts to
203 these travellers when they come to pay their respects in the District
[431] capital, the DH can build up a large communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.(1) Fin-
634 ally the DH is linked to a faction in the Bornu state which has its most
• 665 powerful leaders in the capital. Traditionally these factions emerged
662 from the allegiance of nobles to the various agnatic lineage segments
[571] of the royal family. These remain today but are now joined by factions representing some of the heads of the modern civil service. DH's linked to more powerful factions receive better information and more protection than those joined to weak ones. Thus the DH of Magumeri who had inherited a factional membership from his father which linked him to an effete second son of a former Shehu received much less support than another DH who was linked to the faction headed by the present Wazirí
[203] (head of the Shehu's council and the N.A.). Because of the constant contact of the Wazirí with all of the agencies of government including the British, the second DH had a much more intimate knowledge of the workings of Emirate politics at the center.

634 These informal links become important when it is realized
662 that the DH works under a system of conflicting standards all of which
648 can be enforced. Thus a DH must give large gifts periodically to his faction leaders, to the Shehu, and to many other persons throughout the state. The British see these as bribes, the Kanuri regard them as legitimate and obligatory. Since such expenses are not envisaged in a DH's salary he is forced to obtain the money illegally (according to
634 British standards). Again, the DH's success in obtaining tax receipts
651 is of major importance. One British officer told the writer that he did

(1) See the discussion above on nona and bərzum for the dynamics of interpersonal relations involved in "paying respects", pp.57-68.

647 661 Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri values and their instrumentation by European standards. For not being loyal, subservient and profitable as a subordinate in the N.A., a man can be punished by adverse reports which refer to his incompetence, his [183] laziness, his dishonesty, or some particular bungle on his part. The formal reason given for disciplinary action is derived always from the European standards of public service morality, and the real reason generally has to do with superior/subordinate relationships within the N.A. Thus the cause given by local gossip in Bornu for the "purge" of N.A. officials which took place in 1956, all have to do with relations between superiors and subordinates. One explanation deals with the jealousy and rivalry between the Treasurer and the Assistant Treasurer, the other and more widely told story alludes to the difficulties between the Bornu Treasurer and the Wakil (chief follower) of his extended household organization. None of the local rumours attributed the cause of the trials (which led to many jail sentences and dismissals) [671] to the fact of corruption in the civil service. Since British public service morality has been written into law in Nigeria, this method of discipline and pressure, although more easily invoked in the colonial situation, because of the arousable indignation of the local British officers will undoubtedly endure after the country obtains its independence.

Political Parties

• 665 In contemporary Bornu modern political parties link Bornu to the Northern Region and the Federal Union of Nigeria. Constituted authority, the EH's, Lawans, the judges, the higher officials of the N.A. and all their followers support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other provinces of the North. It also forms the majority party in the Nigerian Federal gov-

665 ernment, which means that several Kanuri have been Ministers in the Federal cabinet. Several days a week public meetings are held in various parts of Maiduguri under the green flag of the N.P.C. Followers of the "big men" make long speeches to the assembled crowds, while political leaders, N.A. officials, the DH of Maiduguri, and several Lawans from the main segments of the city sit on chairs near the center of activities, often nodding their approval. Sometimes, although not often, these leaders speak themselves. However, it is more in keeping with Kanuri culture that the actual work, the talking, which in this case is usually a loud harangue against the opposition party, should be done by followers and professionals who specialize in such speeches.

665 641 The overall effect of an N.P.C. meeting is one of traditional and constituted authority. The N.A. officials and the traditional leaders always appear to support the movement. Thus a vote against this party not only means that a different party is being supported, it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference the moral order which holds it together. This last point is particularly evident in the political speeches of N.P.C. The listeners are constantly and almost entirely confronted not with a political platform, but with a moral decision; the opposition party is represented as being against the chiefs, and to the existing order of society. It is argued they are opposed to children obeying their parents. Stories are told of opposition members whose parents support the chiefs, but who have run away and rejected their parents. These are now vagrants - with no families, no proper place in the society, who have little responsible connection to the social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family life as now known would be destroyed by the opposition, who

665 641 [186] it is well known encourage women to join their organization and come to its meetings just like men. Finally it is always pointed out that the opposition is linked to the southern Ibo party, and that a vote for such a group, even though the local members profess Islam, is a vote against religion, and for the despised pagans.

665 647 In the N.A. it is an unwritten law that everyone should support the N.P.C., or at least not actively oppose it. Without exception, all informants in the N.A. felt that they would lose their jobs if they were to give even a hint of support to the opposition party. It is furthermore believed that the British favour the N.P.C. and discriminate [648] against the opposition party. This view is corroborated for people by some of the British administrative officers who, because of their long association with the N.A. and the traditional power groups, are easily convinced by the N.A. officials that the opposition party is composed of malcontents and agitators who may cause trouble, the anathema of the colonial service. The result of all this is a feeling of suppression among many of the younger N.A. members, who pay lip service to the N.P.C. but secretly report their support of the opposition party.

665 This opposition party, originally the Bornu Youth League, now a part of the N.E.P.U. (Northern Elements Progressive Union)[1], is headed by a renegade Bornu aristocrat, who has a genuine desire to reform his country. The party is supported by Ibos, dissidents, and acculturated young people who feel that reforms are necessary in the political system. In the party organization itself are many Kanuri who are behaving in a traditional manner. They consider themselves the extended household organization of the party leader. Several of them re-

(1) This party is linked to the party of Dr. Azikwe in the Eastern Region.

665 marked that one day their leader would obtain power in Bornu and put them all into traditional offices.

Opposition party meetings, which are well attended, play up the corruption, and abuses of power made by the N.A. and the traditional leaders. European democratic standards of political behaviour are used as criterion for condemning the traditional party and its supporters. Followers are urged to use their votes to bring down from power the officials who take poor peoples' money to buy big cars, fancy houses, trips to Mecca and many wives for themselves. The party is well organized in the big city, but has practically no representation or effect in the rural areas. In the rural communities the Lawan and the DH as well as the local N.A. officials, as the ruling elite, give substance to the leadership of the N.P.C.

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648 and conflicting standards of performance for incumbents of political roles.

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665 The results of this complexity leads to large factions each under one of the segments of power at the center of the State. Or again in the terminology adapted here - there are large extended household organizations beginning at the center of the State and incorporating in their control all DH's and Lawans (and through the Lawans, all Wards, Hamlets and compounds). Traditionally the ruler kept faction leaders close to his capital and could replace them at any time by followers, slaves or eunuchs. The ruler's subordinates made sure that the line of authority between themselves and their fief and its subjects was a loyal one. Only upon the death of a ruler was there much danger of factional disputes disrupting the political organization of the State.

[178] Today this system is in difficulty because the factional segments are not under the control of any one source of power. Because of the shifts in personnel and in personal fortunes due to conflicts with British standards, and new avenues of political success (the N.A.) at the center, the segments cross-cut one another. Thus a Lawan who is a loyal follower of a DH in district X finds himself in district Y under another DH. Or a DH finds that he has N.A. personnel from the capital in his district who are connected to political segments beyond his control.

Integrative organizational tendencies tend to offset some of the present difficulties. We have seen how DH's try to incorporate Lawans into their own organization or, if this is not possible, the DH attempts to replace them with trustworthy followers. Informal communication channels are developed so that forecasts of changes in

631 642 665 policy or its enforcement can be predicted accurately by incumbents of political roles. However, the conflicts in the political system of Bornu have caused much labour turn-over and until a more integrated system of political goals and standards of performance is possible this turn-over will continue.

Political parties in Bornu reflect the contemporary political structure of the Emirate and its relation to the rest of the country. Because of Nigerian nationalism, Bornu is required by other Northern Nigerian Emirates to participate in national politics. Thus the powers in the society - the N.A. Council, the EH's, the judiciary, i.e. the ruling class - have joined the political party which supports the interests of others like themselves in Northern Nigeria. The reform party which is against this representation of established power is viewed not as a democratic opposition but as a threat to the moral foundations of the Kanuri State.

511 [433] Kanuri consumption patterns indicate what materials and services the people utilize in the pursuance of their way of life and gives us a basis to compare Bornu with other areas of the world. In North American terms, the Kanuri have an exceedingly low level of consumption and production. The analysis has enabled us to estimate that an average four person family in Bornu requires in the neighbourhood of $180.00 per year to maintain their cultural "norms of living".(1) As we have seen, almost all rural families grow some subsistence crops so that this figure does not represent actual cash income, but rather the value of materials

(1)This term has been defined as "the aspirations or expectations of a people, that is, the living conditions which they seek to obtain or regain, or which they regard as fitting and proper for themselves to enjoy." See Lasker, Bruno, Standards and Planes of Living, in Southern and Eastern Asia, prepared for the twelfth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, Japan, 1954 (mimeographed), p. 10.

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829 This triviality[1] is supported by traditional notions of cultural
779 and social change. It has often been said that Muslims are tied
to their traditional ways because of the fatalism inherent in
[114] their religious beliefs. Unfortunately this is an overgeneral-
ization that explains very little, and certainly not the course of
events described above. The Kanuri *are* Muslim, and they
often *do* make fatalistic statements. But, their fatalism always
concerns areas of total impotence as *these are conceived of* by
[369] the speaker. Thus rural peasants speak in a fatalistic way about
[665] the political organization of Bornu, although this is not the case
with many urban persons who belong to, or support, reform parties.
Or again, fatalism may be expressed over death, or knowledge
of God, or the origin of the world, or its future. Fatalism is
never referred to, however, for areas of behaviour that the in-
dividual construes to be susceptible to change by human efforts.
829 This is especially true of two closely related areas of social life,
557 (a) the economic sphere, and (b) social relations. The Kanuri
571 believe that it is possible and desirable to increase economic
status by one's own efforts. The preferred route to economic
betterment is not via technology, although this is important, but
by improving social relations. Thus to become a truck driver,
one needs workable relations with people who are drivers, so
that the status of apprentice may by achieved. That lorries are
a technological improvement over horses and donkeys is easily
[779] perceived and accepted. That is to say, the Kanuri are not
against change because as Muslims they accept the traditional
world as a manifestation of God's will. They do believe, how-
ever, that individual advancement is gained primarily through
profitable social relations, and only secondarily through tech-
nology.

241 It should also be noted in this respect that the Magumeri peas-
433 ants never at any time voice any dissatisfaction with the quantity
592 of their crop yields *using customary techniques*. Complaints are
heard but these always have to do with other aspects of farm
production more closely related to family and household organiz-
ation. Traditionally, and this is so today, crop yields are in-
creased through expanding one's acreage under cultivation. For
all peasants questioned this is accomplished through the expansion
of their household size, either by taking more wives, or client

1. [i.e., that dictatorial powers were not invoked over the decision to use or not to use fertilizer, thus defining the whole matter as trivial and unimportant in the minds of the people. -- Analyst]